UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/47/45
10 November 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-seventh session

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS*

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* The present version is a mimeographed version of the report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports. It will be issued subsequently in final form as Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 45 (A/47/45).

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Excellency,

I have the honour to send herewith the report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports, which was adopted unanimously by the Commission on 30 October 1992.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly in accordance with Assembly resolution 40/64 G of 10 December 1985 and with article 12, paragraph 2, of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) E. Besley MAYCOCK
Chairman
Commission against Apartheid in Sports

His Excellency
Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, NY

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The General Assembly, by its resolution 40/64 G of 10 December 1985, adopted the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, which entered into force on 4 April 1988.

2. The Convention has so far been ratified or acceded to by 54 States and signed by 32 States. Lists of the States parties and the signatories are contained in annexes I and II, respectively.

3. The Convention, in its article 11, established a Commission, which was to consider reports submitted by States parties on measures taken by them to give effect to the provisions of the Convention; to examine, in particular, the implementation of the provisions of article 10 and to report annually, through the Secretary-General, to the General Assembly and make recommendations on action to be undertaken.

4. The States parties to the Convention, at their meeting held on 2 March 1989, elected the following members of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports: Mr. Hamad Abdelaziz Al-Kawari (Qatar); Mr. Ahmad Fathi Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic); Mr. Fernando Alanís Camino (Mexico) (succeeded by Mr. Raúl González Rodriquez, who was appointed at the inaugural session of the Commission); Mr. Hocine Djoudi (Algeria); Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana); Mr. Lionel A. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda); Mr. E. Besley Maycock (Barbados); Mr. Abraham Ordia (Nigeria); Mr. Vladimir Platonov (Ukraine); Mr. Allan Rae (Jamaica); Mr. Tesfaye Shafo (Ethiopia) who was succeeded by Mr. Mulu Wale; Mr. Claudio Teehankee (Philippines) succeeded by Mr. Sedfrey Ordoñez; Mr. Boris Topornin (Russian Federation); Mr. Zoumana Traore (Burkina Faso); and Mr. Georg Zorowka (Germany).

5. At the first session of the Commission, on 2 March 1989, pursuant to article 11, paragraph 5 of the Convention, the Chairman of the Commission drew lots to choose the names of members of the Commission whose term should expire in March 1991. They were as follows: Mr. Maycock, Mr. Al-Kawari, Mr. Al-Masri, Mr. Gbeho, Mr. Traore, Mr. Djoudi, Mr. Platonov, Mr. Hurst and Mr. Ordia.

6. On 23 March 1991, the Secretariat informed the States parties to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports with regret of the passing away of a member of the Commission, Dr. Georg Zorowka. The Commission paid tribute to the memory of its member.

7. On 24 June 1991, the States Parties to the International Convention elected Mr. Lionel A. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda) to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Georg Zorowka.

8. On 24 June 1991, the States Parties elected the following members whose terms will expire on 24 June 1995:

Mr. Gbedevi Zikpi Aguigah (Togo)
Mr. Abdul Karim Al-Ethawy (Iraq)
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)
Mr. Joseph Lagu (Sudan)
Mr. Francis Malambugi (United Republic of Tanzania)
Mr. E. Besley Maycock (Barbados)
Mr. Vladimir Platonov (Ukraine)
Mr. Jai Pratap Rana (Nepal)
Mr. Zoumana Traore (Burkina Faso)

9. The terms of the following members of the Commission will expire on 2 March 1993: Mr. Tesfay Fichala (Ethiopia), Mr. Lionel A. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Sedfrey Ordoñez (Philippines), Mr. Allan Rae (Jamaica), Mr. Raúl González Rodriguez (Mexico) and Mr. Boris Topornin (Russian Federation).

10. Following the discussion at and the decisions taken by the eighth Meeting of the States Parties on 10 June and 21 July 1992, the Commission was convened from 28 to 30 October 1992 at United Nations Headquarters in New York.

11. The Commission conducted informal consultations on Wednesday morning, 28 October 1992, and began its formal session on 28 October 1992, in the afternoon. The provisional agenda of the session is included in annex III.

12. The outgoing Chairman, Mr. James Victor Gbeho, reported to the members at the first meeting on developments regarding sports in South Africa and the work of the Commission (see annex IV).

13. On 28 October 1992, the Commission elected Mr. E. Besley Maycock Chairman, Mr. James Victor Gbeho as Vice-Chairman and Mr. Jai P. Rana as Rapporteur.

14. The Commission also noted the resignation of Mr. Mulu Wale of Ethiopia and the appointment, under article 11 of the Convention, of Tesfay Fichala by the Government of Ethiopia as a member of the Commission.

15. The following members of the Commission participated in the session: Mr. Gbedevi Zikpi Aguigah (Togo); Mr. Tesfay Fichala (Ethiopia); Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana); Mr. Lionel A. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda); Mr. Joseph Lagu (Sudan); Mr. E. Besley Maycock (Barbados); Mr. Allan Rae (Jamaica) and Mr. Jai Pratap Rana (Nepal).

16. Observers of the following liberation movements attended the session: African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

17. Observers of the following international and national sports organizations also attended the session: International Olympic Committee (IOC), World Boxing Council (WBC), National Olympic and Sports Congress of South Africa (NOSC), National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) and South African Council on Sports (SACOS).

18. The agenda of the session, which is contained in annex V, was unanimously adopted.

19. The Commission approved a paper presented by the Secretariat on the organization of work of the Commission. 1/

20. The present report was adopted on 30 October 1992.

II. PROGRESS TOWARDS INTEGRATION OF SPORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM FROM SPORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

21. The Commission has benefited in its consideration of this item from the participation of representatives of ANC, PAC, NOSC, NOCSA and SACOS.

22. There was consensus among the participants that important changes have taken place in the last two years, both inside South Africa as well as in the world. Many of these developments were positive. Among these developments, some pillar laws, which had bolstered the abhorrent system of apartheid, were abrogated in 1991, although the apartheid constitution of the country is yet to be abolished. Some political prisoners in South Africa have been released, and more are expected to be released by 15 November 1992. As far as sports are concerned, there is a strong, if not uniform, movement towards the integration of sports in South Africa. South Africa was admitted to IOC and many international sporting federations.

23. While there is agreement that these changes are not fundamental, the views of the liberation movements and non-racial sports organizations from South Africa are not identical with regard to these developments. One view is that these developments are positive steps in the direction of abolishing apartheid from sports and society in South Africa, that these developments need to be supported, that NOCSA, which is structured on a non-racial basis, is committed to combat apartheid in sports and society and that the role of the international sports community is to encourage these positive changes and help bring about more developmental assistance to the disadvantaged and non-racial sports in the country.

24. There was another view that until there is a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa in which everyone enjoys universal adult suffrage, sports in South Africa will in reality continue to be dominated by the white minority, although some black administrators and athletes may assume some prominent positions. The benefits of recent changes are limited and can neither reach the whole community nor be considered as effective to reverse the legacy of apartheid in sports.

25. There was unanimity, however, among South African sports organizations present that the Commission should concentrate on encouraging developmental aid to ensure that the ongoing process will not be reversed.

26. The Commission acknowledges that positive developments have taken place in South Africa and also recognizes that key apartheid legislation has been abrogated. However, in the view of the Commission, the process of total elimination of apartheid is not yet irreversible. It is therefore essential that the international sports community give its full support to the political process towards a democratic and non-racial constitution in South Africa. The Commission notes that most sports disciplines are on the way to integration on a non-racial basis, but believes that further efforts are needed to ensure that sports in South Africa are totally integrated on a non-racial basis and that for the large sectors of the population who have been disadvantaged also with regard to sports, there should be an affirmative action plan agreed upon by all sports organizations in South Africa. Therefore, the Commission wishes to encourage the international community to provide developmental assistance to these sectors, in order for them to overcome the legacy of apartheid.

27. The Commission commends the WBC for its support to the development of non-racial sports in South Africa and, in particular, the donation of funds for the construction of two gymnasiums (one in East London and one in Soweto), and expresses the hope that other sporting federations will emulate this generous gesture.

28. In this regard, the Commission invites the Special Committee to continue its cooperation with non-States parties and non-governmental organizations, including national and international sporting federations, to enhance moral and material support to non-racial sports in South Africa, such as coaches, trainers and other technical assistance to disadvantaged sporting organizations.

III. ADMISSION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

29. The Commission considered this question in light of statements made by the representatives of IOC, ANC, PAC, NOCSA, NOSC and SACOS. The Commission recognizes that NOCSA is organized on a non-racial basis, that it has won international acceptance and that teams from South Africa, organized on a non-racial basis and flying their own flag and emblem, participated in the Olympic Games at Barcelona in 1992.

30. At the same time, the Commission takes note of the fact that blacks and other disadvantaged groups have not yet been fully integrated in sports in general and that there are sports in South Africa in which they do not yet participate, due to remaining patterns of apartheid. The Commission is also aware of reports that there are racist sports administrators and athletes who do not hide their continued commitment to apartheid (such as playing the national anthem associated with the apartheid doctrine), or their desire to return to the old practices of apartheid. Those who pursue continued apartheid practices in sports fall under definitions established in the International Convention, which prescribes measures to be taken in this regard by States parties. The Commission also considers continued cooperation with IOC important in this context.

IV. REGISTER OF SPORTS CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

31. The Commission considered this question in the light of the relevant decision of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the note prepared by the Secretariat in this regard. 2/

32. The Commission shares the view of the Special Committee that those who are going to South Africa to assist or to engage in sporting activities with non-racial sporting organizations in accordance with paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 46/79 A, should not be included in the Register.

33. The Commission appreciates the role the Register has played as an important instrument to isolate South Africa in the area of sports. Against the background of the engagement of South African non-racial sporting organizations in international exchanges, the Commission recognizes the difficulties of the Special Committee, under present circumstances, with regard to obtaining sufficient and unambiguous information about sports contacts with teams and athletes in or from South Africa, which is to maintain an accurate and meaningful Register. The Commission therefore considers it important that the format of the Register and modalities for obtaining accurate information be reviewed.

34. The Commission also expresses its appreciation to all teams and athletes who have foregone economic or other opportunity by refraining from sports contacts with South Africa in order to support international efforts to eliminate apartheid.

V. REPORTS OF THE STATES PARTIES UNDER ARTICLE 12, PARAGRAPH 1, OF THE CONVENTION

35. The Commission reviewed 10 reports submitted to it under article 12 of the Convention by the following States parties: Barbados, Belarus, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo and Uruguay. Expressing its appreciation for the reports submitted, the Commission considers that they fulfil the requirements under that article. The Commission wishes to urge States parties that have not yet done so to submit their reports as required under the above-mentioned provision.

36. In this context, the Commission does not consider that the non-submission of reports can constitute a reason for departing from its mandate to meet under article 14 of the Convention. It stresses that its functions under the provisions of the Convention are not limited to considering reports of States parties and that its examination of and recommendations concerning the implementation of the provisions of article 10 of the Convention is of particular importance in this regard.

37. In order to assist States parties in fulfilling their obligations under article 12, paragraph 1, the Commission prepared a new questionnaire, reflecting political developments in South Africa (see annex V). The

Commission also requested the Secretariat to prepare a table of the status of submission of reports by States parties, including due dates, where applicable, for the submission of new reports. The table may also include the date of the last submission of a report by a State party. The Commission authorized the Chairman to communicate by letter with the States parties with regard to the questionnaire.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

38. The Commission has benefitted from the participation of the observers in its session and, in particular, of the representatives of non-racial sporting organizations from South Africa. The Commission looks forward to closer cooperation with these organizations and the possibility of cooperating with the Special Committee against Apartheid, in the implementation of its work programme, to expedite the process of integration of non-racial sports in South Africa. The Commission feels that in light of the discussions, consideration could be given to convening a future annual session in one of the front-line States in order to allow for more observers from South Africa to participate.

39. The Commission regrets the non-payment of contributions by States parties, which not only constitutes a violation of their obligations under international law but is also detrimental to the efforts of the international community to achieve the elimination of apartheid from sports and society in South Africa. The Commission hopes that the question of contributions of the States parties to the budget of the Commission will be considered early in 1993 and that ways and means will be found to ensure the convening of the Commission in 1993.

40. The Commission considers that the decision of IOC to admit NOCSA (which is organized on a non-racial basis) is a positive step. However it cautions that any attempt by persons or organizations advocating apartheid to gain control of NOCSA must be met by firm action by the international sports community.

41. The Commission commends the Special Committee against Apartheid for the cooperation extended to the Commission and for its efforts through the years to isolate South Africa in the area of sports through the maintenance of the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, which has contributed significantly to bringing about the process of change now under way in South Africa.

42. The Commission recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Invite all those States which have signed the Convention but have not ratified it to do so, and invite all States which have not signed the Convention to consider acceding to it;

(b) Urge all States parties to observe all the provisions of the Convention until apartheid has been abolished in South Africa;

(c) Call upon States to extend their cooperation to the Commission against Apartheid in Sports and to the Special Committee against Apartheid in matters relating to eliminating apartheid in sports;

(d) Call upon States, organizations and individuals to provide moral and material support to non-racial sports organizations in South Africa;

(e) Invite the Special Committee against Apartheid to consider using its good offices to promote fund-raising for the purpose of supporting racial integration of sports in South Africa;

(f) Request the Secretary-General to provide the necessary services to the Commission for it to fulfil its mandate, as well as ways and means to promote public awareness of the objectives of the Convention.

43. The Commission urges those States parties which have not done so to: (a) submit their reports in accordance with article 12, paragraph 1, of the Convention and to do so at their earliest convenience and (b) to pay their contributions to the budget of the Commission as required under article 11.

Notes

1/ CAAS/C/1992/L.2.

2/ CAAS/C/1992/L.1.

ANNEX I

States parties to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports

1. Algeria
2. Angola
3. Antigua and Barbuda
4. Bahamas
5. Barbados
6. Belarus
7. Bolivia
8. Bulgaria
9. Burkina Faso
10. Cuba
11. Croatia
12. Czechoslovakia
13. Ecuador
14. Egypt
15. Equatorial Guinea
16. Estonia
17. Ethiopia
18. Ghana
19. Guinea
20. Guyana
21. India
22. Iran (Islamic Republic of)
23. Iraq
24. Jamaica
25. Jordan
26. Latvia
27. Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
28. Mali
29. Mauritania
30. Mauritius
31. Mexico
32. Mongolia
33. Nepal
34. Niger
35. Nigeria
36. Peru
37. Philippines
38. Poland
39. Qatar
40. Russian Federation
41. Saint Kitts and Nevis
42. Senegal
43. Sudan
44. Syrian Arab Republic
45. Togo
46. Trinidad and Tobago
47. Tunisia
48. Uganda
49. Ukraine
50. United Republic of Tanzania
51. Uruguay
52. Venezuela
53. Yugoslavia
54. Zambia
55. Zimbabwe

ANNEX II

States signatory to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports

Benin

Burundi

Cameroon

Cape Verde

Central African Republic

China

Colombia

Cyprus

Gabon

Guinea-Bissau

Haiti

Hungary

Indonesia

Kenya

Lebanon

Liberia

Madagascar

Malaysia

Maldives

Morocco

Nicaragua

Panama

Rwanda

Saint Lucia

Sierra Leone

Somalia

Yemen

Zaire

ANNEX III

Provisional agenda of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

1. Opening of the session.

2. Statement by the outgoing Chairman of the Commission.

3. Election of officers.

4. Adoption of the agenda.

5. Replacement of a member of the Commission.

6. Organization of work of the Commission.

7. Readmission of South Africa to the International Olympic Committee.

8. Progress towards integration of sports in South Africa and the elimination of racism from sports in South Africa.

9. Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa.

10. Consultations with representatives of national and international sporting organizations.

11. Consideration of the reports of the States parties to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports in accordance with article 12, paragraph 1, of the Convention.

12. Status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

13. Consideration of the draft report of the Commission to the General Assembly.

14. Closing of the session.

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ugly existence in sports, is finally ended. To disband before that noble end is reached would, in my opinion, be tantamount to an act of irresponsibility. It is an act that can only give comfort to the South African regime which continues to resist for as long as possible the final liquidation of the policy of apartheid.

Distinguished members of the Commission will observe from the documentation for the present meeting that the contribution of any State party towards the holding of this meeting was not more than $4,000; indeed, in most cases, the total contribution was under $200 per State party. It seems therefore that money could not really have been the problem. It is rather the unfortunate perception gained by some that apartheid was on the wane and therefore the Commission had no further role to perform that had created doubt in the assessment of some States parties. Our friends and colleagues from South Africa will soon clarify that important point for the Commission and, therefore, I should not pre-empt them. But, even if that conjecture were really so, would it not be much better for the Commission to meet to first inform States parties and the General Assembly rather than informally to withhold its further services as a mandated Commission?

As all of us know, the Commission against Apartheid in Sports was created to oversee the implementation of the provisions of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. The Convention, while dedicating its aims and purposes primarily towards the elimination of apartheid from sports and from South African society generally, also aims at eradicating racism and racial discrimination from sports and society everywhere. It will be recalled that article 1 of the Convention defines apartheid as "a system of institutionalized racial segregration and discrimination for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over another racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them ...". The responsibility of the Commission, in my view, is thus much deeper than some friends of the South African Administration are prepared to admit. The Commission's work, therefore, cannot be abandoned only on the first sign of change in South Africa.

On this important occasion, it is also worth noting that the Convention represents an important instrument for upholding the Olympic principles by which individuals and teams competing in sports are to be judged purely on merit rather than on any other criteria. It further represents an instrument for ensuring that the whole business of organizing and promoting sports is directed towards the racial integration of sports and not to sowing indirectly the seeds of discrimination. It is in the pursuit of these objectives that the Commission, since its inception, has extended its cooperation to the International Olympic Committee and other sporting organizations. That cooperation also requires that the Commission guide the International Olympic Committee and not remain indifferent to its activities.

Distinguished members and observers, although the Convention has so far been ratified by only 54 States, it should be a matter of some pride to all of us that its principles have contributed in no mean measure to the development

of international humanitarian law. We must ensure that the Convention is supported and not undermined by acts such as member States not attending meetings of the Commission or the failure by States parties to submit reports in implementation of its article 12, paragraph 1. It is perhaps worth recalling in this context that it is part of international law that any State which commits itself to an international legal instrument is also obliged to fulfil its obligations under the instrument and cannot decide unilaterally to vary its method of carrying out the prescribed legal obligation under the specific instrument. In our case, no State party can decide that it is no longer committed to or by the Convention except by following the procedure set in the Convention for State parties to withdraw from the Convention. Therefore, those States parties refusing to make contributions or submit reports are really not adhering to the requirements of the Convention. They are in fact indirectly instituting veto powers which do not exist in the article of the Convention.

I have already stated that I would not like to pre-empt the opinion of our South African colleagues as to whether progress in integrating sports in South Africa has been fully achieved or not, but please allow me to help clarify the Commission's standing vis-à-vis apartheid, since events in South Africa are constantly used to deny the clear mandate of the Commission.

I would like to note in this context that while the International Convention is aimed in particular at dealing with the situation in South Africa resulting from the abhorred policies of apartheid both in sports and in society, the provisions of the Convention, as I have previously observed, could be applicable to any system of institutional racism and discrimination. We must therefore not be unnecessarily restricted in the interpretation of our mandate. It is important that members of the Commission remind themselves of the particular requirement of the Convention. Furthermore, the Convention also situates our work in a time-frame which we should not be oblivious to. Article 10 of the Convention, which specifically deals with the question of South Africa, states in paragraph 5 that:

> "The provisions of the present article relating specifically to South Africa shall cease to apply when the system of apartheid is abolished in that country."

Thus, while noting progress in South Africa, if indeed there has been progress in abolishing apartheid, the question that the Commission should attach importance to is whether or not apartheid has been abolished in South Africa. My submission is that the Commission or States parties would be acting ultra vires in taking a decision to abandon the work of the Commission before an unequivocal decision on this important question is collectively reached.

Another issue which has been continuously raised at meetings of the States parties since the last meeting of the Commission is that the Commission has been unable to meet because only a few States parties were able to submit their reports. While agreeing that all States parties must present their

reports in accordance with article 12, paragraph 1, of the Convention and that the review of these reports constitutes an essential element of the work of the Commission, it must also be noted that the Commission has many other important tasks, including the review of the general situation of the elimination of apartheid from sports, as well as other functions entrusted to the Commission under article 10 of the Convention. The submission of reports alone should not be the criterion for deciding on meetings of the Commission.

Before I end this statement, permit me to say a word or two about the boycott of apartheid in sports by the international community. This specific action has been very successful in exerting pressure on the South African Administration to give up the policy of apartheid, given the importance which South Africans attach to sports. The same boycott has contributed immensely towards the efforts of the United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization as well as other organizations in their fight against apartheid and racial discrimination. But, the implementation of the sports boycott is by no means the main preoccupation of this Commission. The Commission's work should therefore not be judged solely on the boycott programme.

I would be remiss in my duties if I did not pay tribute to the excellent work done by the Special Committee against Apartheid, under its Chairman, His Excellency Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, in leading the struggle to eliminate apartheid from society and from sports in South Africa. The Special Committee was the first to advocate the boycott of apartheid in sports and went on to institute the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa in 1981. It has also supported the Commission in its work. For all these and the Special Committee's assistance to me as the Chairman of the Commission, I shall always remain grateful.

Finally, I wish to extend a warm welcome to the representatives of sporting organizations which are represented at our meetings this week. We look forward to their invaluable impact in assessing the situation in South Africa and on that country's progress towards the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination from sports and from society in general.

I have deemed it fit to make these few remarks in clarification of the status of the Commission and our mandate as they were spelt out for us. I sincerely hope that we can now work assiduously within these parameters and, like our parent world body, the United Nations, refrain from uncritically following the crowd or those whose power and influence could be useful only in stifling the truth and the law concerning the programme for the total eradication of apartheid.

I thank you for your kind attention.

ANNEX V

Questionnaire to the States parties in fulfilment of their obligations under article 12, paragraph 1, of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports

1. The following question is addressed to the States parties that did not submit their first report:

(a) What are the legislative, judicial, administrative and other measures adopted to give effect to the provisions of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports?

For the States parties that have already submitted their first report:

(b) Are there any new measures adopted concerning the International Convention against Apartheid?

For all the States parties, below are additional questions.

2. Are there exchanges between South African sports bodies and teams based on the policies of apartheid as well as South African athletes advocating these and sporting bodies, teams and athletes in your country?

3. What action has your Government taken with respect to the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa issued by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid?

4. What action has your Government taken to discourage its citizens and others from supporting or encouraging apartheid in sports?

5. What forms of moral and material support is your Government planning to provide to the non-racial sports organizations and to sports activities by disadvantaged sectors in South Africa?

6. What level of assistance would your Government be willing to provide either directly to the non-racial organizations concerned or as part of a multilateral contribution?